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THE LAW OF POPULATION UNDER SOCIALISM AND THE  
POPULATION PROBLEM OF CHINA

by

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In the past several years, birth control has become a pressing need for a large number of the industrial and white collar workers of the nation and for some of the farmers. The Party and the Government support this need of the masses, and they have repeatedly explained how birth control, under present historical conditions, benefits the nation, the family, and the new generation. They have approved proper birth control methods and have furthermore appointed organizations which are concerned with the problem to organize teams for the study of birth control and suggested some methods to implement birth control work.

We advocate suitable birth control. This is, however, something entirely different from Malthusianism. The basic point of Malthusianism is that the rate of increase of the production of the means of subsistence never catches up with the rate of increase of the population. The actual experience of this nation has proved the error of this conclusion. <sup>1/</sup> For this reason, it is not without practical meaning to criticize the "Population Theory" of Malthus and his followers, expose its erroneous and reactionary nature, and furthermore, to explain and study socialist population law and its function, in the hope of grasping correctly the present population problem of this country as well as the facts of birth control.

### I. A Critique of Malthusianism

In 1798, Malthus, an English clergyman, published "An Essay on Population."<sup>2/</sup> Malthus' essay on population was produced under the following historical conditions. At that time in England, the Industrial Revolution had already begun. Along with the formation and development of mass production under capitalist conditions, part of the workers who had been supplanted by machines having been expelled from industry, were forced to form an industrial reserve army. Because of the development of capitalism, the position of the workers daily grew worse and the working class masses daily grew poorer. At the same time as capitalist mass industry developed, the position of bankrupt artisans also grew worse, and they too swelled the columns of the great army of the unemployed. All of these factors caused an increase in the poverty of the proletarians and led to their dissatisfaction with and opposition to the capitalist class. Malthus, who served the interests of the exploiting classes, attempted to deceive the proletarians and defend the capitalist system, and therefore he proposed his "Principles of Population" for this purpose.

According to Malthus' so-called "Law of Population," population increases according to a geometric rate, doubling each twenty-five years while the means of subsistence only increases at an arithmetic rate. Because the rate of increase of these two factors is not similar, the average amount of what each person gets of the means of subsistence becomes less and less.

Malthus thought that in any society, no matter what its economic structure, population was generally on a level with the supply of the means of subsistence. When through multiplication, the population began to exceed this level, then, because of the impact of many indirect checks (war, natural

calamities, crime) the population would return to this level, and these indirect checks in turn arose from the insufficiency of the means of subsistence.

Malthus also considered that because of the controlling function of this "Law of Population," human society must have poverty and crime. Poverty is the absolutely certain result of this law, and crime to a very large extent is its creation...The major common reason for poverty is seldom or almost never whether the distribution of wealth is just, or whether rich people have the obligation to supply working people with work and sustenance yet fail to do so. The reason is that working people, materially speaking, do not have the right to demand this or that item from rich people. These main "truths" are all based on his theory and derived from "The Law of Population."

Malthus further thought that there were just two methods of preventing "surplus" population. The first one was that of natural limitations, namely, war and natural calamities as well as all the other factors which act to increase the death rate. The second was that of preventive checks which depressed the birth rate and which were also called "moral" methods of limitation. As an actual government policy, Malthus proposed that nations should not recognize the right of the poor to succor, and furthermore, that they should abolish "Poor Laws." He therefore thought that the poverty of the poor should be the responsibility of the poor, and that relief should not be given them in order to avoid population increase. The foregoing are the principles of Malthus' "Theory of Population."

Marx and Engels long ago refuted Malthus' "Theory of Population" which whitewashed the true reasons for poverty and unemployment under the capitalist system, and this "theory" must also be declared bankrupt when

confronted by the facts of subsequent social and economic development.

Malthus saw his "Law of Population" as an eternal natural law; not only in the sense that in any historical period human society must be controlled by this law and give rise to poverty, sickness and crime, but that even the world of plants and animals is necessarily controlled by this "law," the operation of which gives rise to a waste of seed, parasites and infections as well as early death. According to this way of thinking, it would seem that poverty in life is not determined by social systems but is instead determined by an eternal law of nature and that it is completely meaningless and impossible for people to struggle against this law.

The real purpose of this theory is, of course, to defend the capitalist system. The methodology on which it is based, moreover, is metaphysical and incorrect. It is long since Marx pointed out that: "Every particular historical mode of production has its own special laws of population."<sup>2/</sup> We can clearly tell that if there were not concealed deception here, there would not be any eternal "Law of Population" applicable both to the natural world and to human society. Long before the advent of Marx's Capital, Engels had criticized Malthus' "Theory of Population" in Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy, which he wrote in 1844 while still a youth, by saying that this "theory" was a Christian "economic expression of dogma" and was a sort of "infamous and vile doctrine." Engels also said that if we go along with the advocates of this doctrine, "then we have to recognize that the earth was already overpopulated when only one man existed."<sup>4/3</sup>

We know that there exists in capitalist societies what is called "relative surplus population." Such relative surplus populations are formed

the law of capitalist accumulation. The increase in production under the capitalist system is accompanied by growth in the organic composition of capital. But the demand for labor (numbers of persons employed) is not determined by total capital but is instead determined only by the variable part of that capital. As technology advances the variable part of total capital decreases relative to constant capital. Therefore, along with the accumulation of capital and the increase in the organic structure of capital, the demand for labor declines relatively even though the total number of persons in the proletariat increases, with the result that some workers are unable to find work and clearly seem surplus. These workers constitute what is called "relative surplus population". That portion of workers thrown out of production comprises the industrial reserve army---the army of the unemployed. "The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve-army in proportion to the active labor-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labor...This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." <sup>5/11</sup> The general law of capitalist accumulation is the law of the accumulation of wealth at one pole and the accumulation of poverty at the other. The accumulation of capital means the enlargement of the proletariat; the developmental process of capitalism is the process of relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat. We can see clearly from the foregoing that in capitalist society, the reason for the poverty of the laboring masses is not a "law of population which has the nature of an eternal natural law", but is the capitalist system itself.

When Marx was studying the production methods of capitalism as well as its corresponding production relations, he wound up discovering the law of population under capitalism which he expressed as follows: "With the magnitude of social capital already functioning, and the degree of its increase, with the extension of the scale of production, and the mass of the labourers set in motion, with the development of the productivity of their labour, with the greater breadth and fullness of all sources of wealth, there is also an extension of the scale on which greater attraction of labourers by capital is accompanied by their greater repulsion; the rapidity of the change in the organic composition of capital, and in its technical form increases, and an increasing number of spheres of production become involved in this change, now simultaneously, now alternately. The labouring population, therefore, produces along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent. This is the law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production. <sup>6/ \*</sup> The Textbook of Political Economy has in turn expressed this law in simple terms as follows: "In capitalist society, while capital accumulates and the wealth of the society increases, some working people must inevitably become surplus. They are consequently dropped from production, impoverished and brought close to hunger. The law of population under capitalism is the product of the production relations of capitalist society."<sup>7/</sup>

The basic point of Malthus' law of population was that the rate of increase in the production of the means of subsistence will never catch up with the rate of increase of the population, and so he bases his argument on the "law of diminishing returns from the land." But the "law of diminishing

return from the land" has no real basis, because it slights technological advance, scientific invention and the increase in the productive power of society. Lenin long ago pointed out that the law of diminishing returns from the land is decidedly not applicable at a juncture when technology is in the process of advance, and production methods are in process of revolution.<sup>8/</sup>

Even among capitalist economists there are some who recognize and understand this point. For example, E. Roll, having criticized Malthus' "Theory of Population," said, "as a dynamic principle, the law of diminishing returns from the land has obviously been overthrown. Its place in modern economics can only be considered as a law of the ideal state of static equilibrium."<sup>9/</sup>

Because of the failure of their theoretical bases, Malthus' "Theory of Population" and Ricardo's "Theory of Change of Differential Land Values" have no foundation whatever.

The facts of the development of social-economies exemplify the error of Malthus' "Theory of Population." The statistical materials of certain capitalist nations show that not only does population not increase according to geometric progression, but that it does not increase one-fold in twenty-five years. The increase of production moreover does not fall behind increase of population. On the contrary, it exceeds the increase of population. Take America as an example. If we consider 1899 to be 100, from then up to 1939 the 75% total population growth, the 87% rise in the numbers of employed workers and the 247% increase of industrial production represent almost three-fold increase. Production increased 99% per employed worker.<sup>10/</sup>

The periodic economic crises of capitalist society are even more clearly contradictory to Malthus' "theory." Production surpluses appear



during periods of economic crisis and large quantities of commercial goods stuff warehouses and cannot be put into circulation, to the point where capitalists, for the sake of maintaining wages and prices, pitilessly throw large quantities of commercial goods into the sea or burn them, while at the same time a large number of unemployed exist who are unable to find food. It is obvious that under these circumstances, population surpluses cannot in any way explain either the lack of means of subsistence or the poverty stricken life of the laboring masses.

The socialist construction experience of Russia, China and the other People's Republics proves the bankruptcy of Malthus' "population theory" to an even greater degree. We have already seen and, moreover, personally experienced the fact that in nations which have overthrown the exploitative rule of the landlord and capitalist classes, no matter whether they have already constructed socialism or are just in the process of passing into socialism, the material welfare of the laboring masses has continuously risen and unemployment and poverty, now gradually disappearing, will eventually be eliminated. This circumstance still more forcefully explains the fact that the poverty and unemployment of the working classes must have been produced by the capitalist system itself and is definitely not, as Malthus had theorized, produced by an eternal law of population.

Malthus' "Theory of Population" has been widely used to advance the defence of poverty and crime under capitalism as well as the aggressive acts of fascist imperialism. In the latter half of the 19th century, Neo-Malthusians succeeded to Malthus' theory and forcefully maintained that poverty and unemployment in the working class were traceable to error on the part of the

working people: they had multiplied themselves too fast. Neo-Malthusianists went further and announced that working people must reform their way of living, that is, they should practice birth control.

Prior to the Second World War, German Fascism and Japanese militarism both used Malthus' "theory" to justify and whitewash their own aggressive policies. They absurdly maintained that in their nations there existed absolute population surpluses, land deficiency and insufficiency of the means of subsistence, so that only by expanding living space, taking away other nations' land, slaughtering other nations' peoples and particularly by destroying inferior races could they get rid of their national "population surpluses."

Today, the apologists of American monopolistic capital also use Malthus' reactionary theory to defend America's expansionist policies and preparations for the aggressive acts of World War III. For example, the Neo-Malthusianist William Vogt firmly maintains that according to Malthusian theory the world can only sustain from 500,000,000 to 900,000,000 people, hence the remainder are all surplus population. He shamelessly maintains that war and famine are good things because they reduce population. He says that famine in China is not only suitable but necessary. He also says that America's optimum population is 100,000,000 and that since America has already far exceeded this number, its way out of the situation lies in expanding living space, stealing other nations' land and wiping out the peoples of other nations. He further proposes a new war in order to reduce the people of Europe, Africa and Asia by one third or one half so that this region may become the colony of American monopolistic capital forever. 11/

We must immediately uncover and sternly expose the error of the general use of Malthus' "Theory of Population" for the purpose of defending

the economic expansion of monopolistic capital and wars of imperialist aggression.

In Old China there had been early research and theory on population problems. As early as 1793, for example, in the Ch'ien Lung period of the Ch'ing dynasty, five years earlier than Malthus' "Theory of Population," the Ch'ien Lung Chin-Shih Hung Liang-chi published his book on population theory, the I-Yen. Hung Liang-chi also believed that population growth was likely to be faster than the growth of production. In his opinion, moreover, population could in thirty years increase five fold and in sixty years ten fold which is very much faster than the speed which Malthus estimated. He put it this way: "...in the time of great-great grandfather and great grandfather, wasteland was not yet completely developed and vacant allotments not yet entirely occupied. But tillable land today does not exceed the amount of such land at that time by more than double or at most three or five fold while the number of households and the size of the population have increased ten or twenty fold. For this reason the number of fields and houses are usually insufficient to the demand while population and households may often be superfluous. There are, furthermore, families which are in possession of more than their share so that in fact each such family may deprive hundreds of people of homes and land. No wonder people die of the wind and rain, from the frost and dew or of hunger and cold."

In this way, the increase of population becomes a sort of population pressure on society. How is the problem to be solved? Hung Liang-chi suggested the following remedies. The first is the method of natural adjustment. "It is asked, is there a method in nature? The answer is, yes.

drought, flood and plague are nature's method of adjustment." But he considered that natural limits to population are still not enough. He said, "...these who die from drought and flood do not exceed one or two tenths of the population." He therefore advocated a second course, the method of government adjustment. He proposed that the Emperor and his ministers organize the reclamation of wasteland and transfer some people, that they decrease and lighten the land tax and the poll tax, and if a natural disaster occurs, to give appropriate succor. Accordingly he said, "...let there be no fallow fields in the countryside, and there will be no unused labor; transfer farmers to live in the newly developed border lands. Reduce the complexity and the weight of taxes according to present conditions and earlier precedents. Forbid frivolous waste and reduce the concentration of land. If drought or pestilence occur, open the granaries and relieve the people. This is all that is necessary." But, we can see that the second method is really not a method of limiting population increase, and transferring people does no more than create an appropriate adjustment between regions of population density and regions of population sparsity, so from the point of view of the whole nation and society, population is really not decreased because of this. Lightening taxes and relieving natural disasters, on the contrary, soften the action of natural checks to the population and can only reinforce factors which increase population. We can, therefore, see that for the purpose of solving population problems, there are some inconsistencies in Hung Liang-chi's theory. This is, however, not comparable to Malthus who although more plausible and consistent, formed a misanthropic, anti-scientific theory.

Although Hung Liang-chi erred in his estimation of population growth and production increase, and also, the method of government adjustment which he proposed was not the method for adjusting the increase of population which he had imagined since it was riddled with inconsistencies, yet the solutions which he proposed such as lightening taxes and moving people did not fail to be constructive and humanitarian suggestions. At the same time he courageously uncovered the fact that the frequency with which people died from cold and hunger at that time was due to deprivation of land, that is, it was the result of a small number of people usurping available production materials and means of subsistence. Precisely because of this, there was no orthodox Malthusian militancy in Hung Liang-chi's theory of population to be joyfully snatched by those who, in China and abroad, serve the aim of oppressing, fleecing and killing working people.

The influence of Hung Liang-chi's theory on our own scholarly world was not very great. Genuine Malthusianism was introduced into China on the heels of the commercial products of imperialism when China was colonized at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. As soon as Malthus' population theory reached China, theorists at the Ch'ing court established it, and used it to defend the extremely corrupt government of that time, and made it the theoretical basis for the slaughter of the then rising revolutionary masses.

By the time of the reactionary Kuomintang government, there were a few scholars studying population problems. They took over Malthus' theory even more systematically and firmly maintained that the reason for poverty and confusion in Chinese society was the excess population of China.

even more, some people cited the reactionary theories of Spencer, the English philosopher and sociologist, so that they could distort the meaning of the economic and population problems of China of that time. They repeated what Spencer had said, "The lower living things are, the more fertile, the higher they are, the less fertile. Therefore the fertility of mankind is far less than the fertility of the lower animals, and the fertility of cultured people in turn is less than the fertility of vulgar people." Therefore he considered that "the higher the birth rate of a nation, the lower the standard of living of its people and the weaker its economy; the lower its cultural level." They based themselves on this when they theorized about China's population problems and maintained that, "although we depend on high fertility to keep the population from extinction given our nation's extremely high birth rate, yet high birth and death rates are the reason why China's present government is off the track, the economic situation deteriorating, and especially the reason for the cruel adjustments of famine, flood, war and pestilence. Since the food problem is a population problem, we therefore hope to adopt the fundamental methods of selective marriage and birth control in order to improve the quality of the population."<sup>12/</sup> Following this "theory," some students even went so far as to suggest that the best thing for China's population problem would be to decrease further somewhat the huge population of that time. What has been said above represents the opinions of one group of population theorists in Old China.<sup>13/</sup> It is very clear that these theories are all expanded second editions of Malthusianism and Neo-Malthusianism. They all distort the cause of China's social poverty and at the least, advance the defense of the exploitative rule of the feudal compradore class and imperialist aggression on China in the old Chinese social system.

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## II

## The Law of Population Under Socialism and Its Function

The substitution of new socialist production relationships for the former capitalist production relationships demonstrates the fact that the exploitative relationships of capitalist economic law have lost effect. The basic economic law of modern capitalism has retired from the scene; the general law of capitalist accumulation is no longer in operation. With the birth and development of socialist production relationships, the basic economic law of socialism, the law of planned and proportional development of the national economy and the general law of socialist accumulation, having been initiated, began to develop further and enlarge in function.

The law of capitalist accumulation functions so as to cause the wealth of the exploitative classes to grow, and to cause the unavoidable impoverishment of the laboring masses. Contrary to this, the law of socialist accumulation has fixed the continuous increase of national wealth with one part of net income to be continuously used to enlarge production in order to fulfil the daily increasing needs of the whole society. The function of the law of socialist accumulation is both to increase national wealth and to continuously raise the level of the material and cultural life of the people.

Under the socialist system, the law of population under capitalism has now entirely lost effect, and the law of population under socialism has begun to function. The Textbook of Political Economy compiled by the Economic Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Science has made the following pronouncement with respect to socialist population law: "The substance of the

law of population under socialism lies in the continuous and rapid growth of population, the very high level of the material welfare of the people, the very low morbidity and death rate and the simultaneous full and rational utilization of those who can work." <sup>14/</sup> We consider that this single pronouncement expresses the chief characteristic of employment, the people's livelihood and population change under the socialist system, but in some respects these characteristics have not been stated with sufficient accuracy or completeness. Aside from individual sentences not properly translated, there are still some portions of the pronouncement which are not wholly compatible with actual circumstances, and there is an important portion which has not been stated. Basing ourselves on the circumstances of population changes in Russia in the socialist construction process, and taking into account the basic economic law of socialism as well as the influences and effects of other economic law, we have tentatively corrected and supplemented the previously quoted law of population under socialism. We attempt to state this corrected and supplemented law as follows: "Under the condition of full and rational utilization of those who can work, the level of the material and cultural life of people will continuously and rapidly rise, the morbidity and death rates of the population will rapidly fall to the point where they approach the very lowest limit set by physiological conditions, and from rapid increase, population numbers will gradually level off to a stable rate of growth. Under the premise of the elimination of urban-rural contradictions, and contradictions between non-manual and manual labor, as production develops the proportion of urban population relative to rural population and industrial workers relative to farmers will gradually increase, and the great differences between city and



rural areas and between non-manual and manual labor will gradually shrink. This is the substance of socialist population law."

(1) Socialist population law is first expressed in the fact that those who can work are fully employed and rationally utilized. This point, moreover, is the important characteristic and very basis of the law. The Textbook of Political Economy particularly stresses this aspect of the law in the table of contents of the original text of the Russian edition, and this is basically correct. But the Chinese translation gives equal emphasis both to this aspect of the law, and to its other aspects, hence the translation is not only erroneous; it cannot accurately express the original meaning. For this reason we recognize the necessity of making corrections based on the implications of the original text of the Russian edition.

Socialist population law as demonstrated specifically in this aspect reveals the basic difference between it and capitalist population law and, therefore, it reveals the great superiority of the socialist system.

In capitalist nations, the army of the unemployed is an unavoidable long term follow traveler. Even now in America for example, the unemployed population is what has previously been called the period of continuous economic prosperity has still maintained its usual numbers: in 1954 the figure was 3,230,000 persons; in 1955 it was 2,650,000 persons; and in 1956 it was 2,390,000 persons. The number of people who are semi-unemployed are not included in these figures.

Contrary to the capitalist system, the number of industrial and white collar workers must unceasingly increase under the socialist system because it has reformed production relations and eliminated or is just in the

process of eliminating unemployment, and also because of the continuous development of its production. In 1928, the number of industrial and white collar workers in Russia was 10,800,000 persons; by 1955 it had increased to 48,400,000 persons, an average yearly increase of 1,400,000 persons. Unemployment has been eliminated in the Soviet Union. In this country, because the economy of traditional China was completely backward, the people unusually poor and the unemployed and semi-unemployed population numerically great, it is not entirely realistic to plan to wipe out unemployment left over from the old society in the very short period after the establishment of the people's government under the leadership of the working class. But we can say positively that with our country's economic recovery of the past three years and the implementation of the First Five Year Plan, unemployment is by now in the process of being gradually reduced and the number of employed white collar and industrial workers increases conspicuously every year. Aside from the farm population and un-collectivized hand-craft workers, small merchants, peddlars and so forth who are not estimated, the number of industrial and white collar workers in this country was 21,020,000 persons in 1952. Based on our First Five Year Plan and the accompanying development of economic and cultural affairs, it is estimated that by 1957 the figure will increase to 25,240,000, an average yearly increase of 840,000 persons. The implementation of the Plan resulted in a far greater increase in actual over planned numbers by 1956, and in fact, the figure increased <sup>by</sup> more than 2,200,000 industrial and white collar workers each year. If we include those 600,000 workers in training classes and in secondary industrial schools on national scholarships, then the figure for the whole country has increased by more than 2,800,000 persons each year.

(2) Socialist population law is demonstrated secondly in the fact of the continuous and speedy rise in the level of the material and cultural life of the people. In terms of national income, the total amount of the Soviet national income in 1954 when estimated in relation to comparable prices, is twice as large as in 1945, ten times as large as in 1929 and fourteen times as large as in 1913. On the other hand, the total amount of the American national income when similarly estimated according to comparable prices, increased 12% over 1945 but only approaches double that of 1929. If one considers the factor of the distribution of national income, because in America the amount of the portion which the capitalist class gets is far greater than that of the working class and other laboring people, the rate of increase in the income of the former class is also greater than that of the latter class, hence the speed of the increase of the total amount of income of the majority laboring masses can even less reach the above cited figures. In terms of wages, the actual wages of white collar and industrial workers increased 74% in the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1954. If the yearly increase in expenditure going to facilities for the cultural and social life of the nation's people is added to the above figures then the gross income of industrial and white collar workers doubled in this period. If 1954 is compared with the year previous to the revolution, then the actual wages of Soviet white collar and industrial workers increased five times. No capitalist nation can match this speed of increase in the actual wages of Soviet industrial and white collar workers.

In terms of conditions in this country, the average consumption per person of the nation's farmers, based on surveys of the Economic Research

Institute of the Academy of Science of China, and the statistics of the National Bureau of Statistics, was 61.2 Yuan in 1936 (both these and the following figures are estimated according to 1952 price levels), and the average consumption of white collar and industrial workers of the nation was 130 Yuan per person. From liberation to the termination of the period of economic recovery in 1952, the average consumption for farmers was 72 Yuan per person and for white collar and industrial workers it was 151 Yuan. In 1956 this figure was 81 Yuan for farmers and for white collar and industrial workers it was 179.6 Yuan per person. We can see from these figures that the level of consumption for white collar and industrial workers of the nation has roughly risen 38% over 1936 which was the year previous to the Japanese War, and 19% over 1952, the last year of the recovery period. Similarly, the level of consumption of farmers has risen about 32.3% between 1936 and 1956 and was up roughly 12.5% over 1952. When estimates are based on the period between 1952 and 1956, the level of consumption of white collar and industrial workers rose an average 4.4% each year, while that of farmers rose 3%. In terms of wages, similar conditions come to light. Wages for industrial and white collar workers were up 33.5% in 1956 over 1952, exceeding the indicated 33% wage increase set by the First Five Year Plan. Even if the factor of rise in the price of certain commodities is omitted, the actual wages of white collar and industrial workers have still conspicuously risen. Comparing 1955 and 1952, cash wages increased 20.2%, actual wages 12%, comparing 1952 and 1956, cash wages increased 33.5% and actual wages increased 22%. If welfare aid, social insurance, public paid medical expenses, social and cultural facilities and so on are added, the increase in gross income of

white collar and industrial workers should exceed the previously stated figures.

(3) Socialist population law is yet again demonstrated in the fact that the morbidity and death rates of the population rapidly fall and approach the lowest limit set by physiological conditions. Under the socialist system, because the material welfare of people rapidly rises, and social medical facilities are conspicuously improved, the morbidity and death rates of the population therefore continuously fall. The fall is rapid at first and then gradually approaches the lowest limit set by physiological conditions. The great superiority of the socialist system is shown in this way. To explain the characteristics and function of socialist population law which are revealed in this respect, and its points of superiority to the capitalist system, we set forth in the table below the changed conditions in death rates of the Soviet population from the Revolution to recent years, with the change in death rates of the populations of major capitalist nations for the same period.<sup>16/</sup>

CHANGE IN POPULATION DEATH RATES  
(Per 1,000)

Year	Soviet Union	America	England	France	West Germany
1913	30.2	13.2	14.2	17.7	14.8
1926*	20.3	11.8	12.0	16.6	11.8
1940	18.3	---	---	---	---
1950	9.6	---	---	---	---
1951	9.6	---	---	---	---
1952	9.3	---	---	---	---
1953	9.0	---	---	---	---
1954	8.9	---	---	---	---
1955	8.4	9.3	11.7	12.2	10.3

\*Aside from Soviet figures which refer to the December 1926 Census, the figures for each capitalist country refer to 1927-1928 censuses.

Several things can be seen in the above table. First is the very rapid decline of the Soviet death rate. In the pre-revolutionary Imperial Russian period, the death rate was very high: 30 in 1913. After the revolution and the establishment of Soviet Russia, the death rate showed a speedy decline: in 1926 it declined to 20, in 1940 to 18, in 1950 to 9.6 and in 1955 to 8.4. Secondly, no major capitalist nation is able to match this rate of decline in death rate. In the pre-revolutionary year, 1913, the death rates of several major capitalist nations were roughly half that of Imperial Russia, but after the revolution the death rate of the Soviet population speedily fell, while the death rates of several major capitalist countries fell very slowly, far slower than the Soviet rate. Thirdly, after 1953, the Soviet death rate, aside from the importantly immigrant population of Australia and New Zealand, <sup>17/</sup> is the lowest among the nations of the world. In 1955, the Soviet death rate was further lowered to 8.4 and even now, America, which has the lowest death rate among the above mentioned several major capitalist nations--estimated in 1955 to be 9.3--is still higher than the Soviet Union. The superiority of the socialist system to capitalism is fully shown in this respect.

Concerning the circumstances of socialist population law expressed in morbidity and death rates, our statement and the statement of the Textbook of Political Economy is not entirely the same. The statement of the Textbook of Political Economy is, "the morbidity and death rates of the population are very low." This sort of statement is right, but doesn't go far enough, and is not sufficiently accurate. This is because it does not refer to <sup>the</sup> tendency of the morbidity and death rates to change under the socialist system;

moreover, since the wording "very low" is comparatively vague, there is no reference to the conditions and standards on which it is based. In order to supplement its deficiency in this respect we correct it to read, "the morbidity and death rates of the population fall until they approach the lower limit set by physiological conditions." This shows on the one hand the tendencies and characteristics of change in the death rate under the socialist system, and on the other hand, connects the limit of fall of the death rate with the physiological conditions of a given period of human society.

It can be seen from the above table that the rate of decline in the death rate of the Soviet Union was comparatively rapid in the first period of socialist construction, and that after 1950 it was comparatively slow. This clearly means that the death rate of the Soviet Union has already approached the lower limit set by the physiological conditions of a given period of human society. People are not immortal hence the death rate has a natural and physiological lower limit. But the lower limit which natural and physiological conditions set is in turn inseparable from social conditions. As society develops, this lower limit itself will still continue to fall because of improvement in the livelihood of people and the advance of medical skill, but the more it falls the slower it falls. It is known that death rates and life expectancy are closely related so that the lower the death rate the longer the life expectancy. Some people have discussed the correlation of these two phenomena: "if the death rate is 35, the life expectancy of the population is less than 30 years; if the death rate is 20, life expectancy will then be 50 years; if the death rate falls to 12, life expectancy is more than 80 years."<sup>18/</sup> The facts also show that there

is a close relationship between the death rate and life expectancy but the rise in life expectancy is not as large as stated above. Because the available materials are limited we attempt to set forth the death rate and life expectancy for several countries below so that the correlation of these factors may be seen.

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THE RELATIONSHIP of DEATH RATE and LIFE EXPECTANCY

Year Range	Country	Death Rate	Life Expectancy
1908-1912	India	32.8	23
1838-1842	England	22.1	41
1926	USSR	20.3	44
1903-1912	France	18.5	50
1903-1912	Germany	16.9	49
1918-1922	America	13.7	56
1918-1922	England	13.7	57
1918-1922	Australia	10.5	61
1955	USSR	8.4	64

Although the circumstances of each country in each year period are different, and the differences in life expectancies are especially influenced by infant mortality, yet the close relationship between the death rate and life expectancy is very clear and easily seen. In England between 1838 and 1842, the death rate was 22, life expectancy was 41; in 1918-1922, the death rate fell to 13.7, life expectancy rose to 57 years. It must be further understood that the fall of the death rate and the increase of life expectancy is determined by the social conditions of a nation and the physiological condition of the population. The major thing in what is termed "social condition" is the economic system of the society. When socialist production relationships supplant capitalist production relationships, the basis of the social factors which hinder and slow the fall of



the death rate is then removed, and this in turn causes the death rate to fall rapidly until it approaches the lowest limit set by the physiological conditions of a given period of human society. After the death rate approaches or reaches this lowest limit, because the lowest limit itself can fall, the death rate is also able to decline further, but the more it declines the slower it falls. The explanation of the case of the Soviet Union is that when the death rate falls from 30 to 20 and further to 10, in other words, when life expectancy rises from 30 or 40 years to 40 or 60 and further to 70 years, the rate of rise is comparatively great. But when life expectancy has risen to 60 or 70 years, and if it still must rise to, for example, say 80 or 90 or further to 100 or more as is probably possible and necessary, its rate of rise must certainly slow down. In other words, when the death rate has fallen to 10 or further to 8.4, still further fall is possible and necessary, but the rate of fall must certainly lessen.

In Old China, the death rate was very high, sometimes higher than 40 or more, averaging about 30, because the majority of the laboring masses lived an extremely impoverished life under imperialism, feudalism and under the oppression and economic exploitation of the government of the comprador bourgeoisie. <sup>20/</sup> The death rate fell swiftly after liberation because the life of the people was greatly improved. According to the 1953 census of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the death rate for the whole nation was 17 per thousand. Moreover, according to the results of the 1954 survey of 25 provinces and one autonomous area, the average death rate for the whole nation was roughly 15 per thousand. The present fall of the death rate of this nation to one half the previous rate has been very rapid.

On the one hand this expresses the operation of the law of population under socialism and the very similar circumstances between the present rapid decline in the nation's death rate and the first period of socialist construction in Russia. On the other hand it fully explains the great superiority which the socialist system shows in this respect.

(4) The law of population under socialism also implies that the size of the population will gradually attain a stable rate of growth from the rapid growth of the first period.

The rate of natural increase of a population (namely the net rate), is equal to the birth rate less the death rate, and is the result of interaction between the birth rate and the death rate. Moreover, in a given society, the trend of the birth rate and death rate is fundamentally limited by the economy and the level of cultural life determined in turn by the production relationships of that society. Under different socio-economic systems, the natural rate of increase (including the birth rate and death rate) will show different trends. We attempt to ~~divide~~ **analyze** the trend in the present natural rate of increase of each nation (including birth and death rates) into three categories according to different economic systems and levels of productive power.

The first category is that of colonial and semi-colonial nations or capitalist nations in the first stage of development whose level of development of productive power is relatively low. In these nations, the level of development of productive power is not high and the standard of living of laboring people is relatively low because they were oppressed and exploited by imperialism and feudalism or when in the first period of capitalism, they were affected by feudalistic remnants. As a result, the

birth rate is high, the death rate is also high and the natural rate of increase is not large. For example, traditional China, pre-independence India, Egypt, Chile, pre-revolutionary Russia, early 19th Century England, France and Germany all showed these conditions. See table below: <sup>21/</sup>

BIRTH, DEATH AND NATURAL INCREASE RATES OF THE FIRST CATEGORY

Country	Year	Birth Rate Per 1,000	Death Rate Per 1,000	Natural Increase Per 1,000
Old China	1930	38.0	33.0	5.0
India	1908-1912	38.3	32.8	5.5
	1929-1932	36.0	26.9	9.1
Egypt	1908-1912	45.2	26.5	18.7
	1929-1932	44.4	27.7	16.7
Chile	1908-1912	39.5	31.7	7.8
	1929-1932	39.5	24.5	15.0
Imperial Russia	1913	47.0	30.2	16.8
England	1838-1842	31.6	22.1	9.5
France	1818-1822	31.7	25.3	6.4
Germany	1848-1852	36.1	27.0	9.1

The conditions shown in this table are generally a high birth rate, a high death rate and a low rate of natural increase, less than ten per thousand. But there are also the special cases of Egypt, Chile and Imperial Russia whose natural rate of increase is above 15, while Egypt's reaches 19. This is because in the base period, not only was the death rate of these nations high, but their birth rate was even higher, more than 40 per thousand which causes the rise in the natural rate of increase.

The second category consists of capitalist nations whose level of development of productive power is higher or who are in the last stages of

development. Their death rates are unquestionably declining gradually but their birth rates decline even more (in comparison to their incipient stage of development). As a result, their natural rate of increase is also not high and usually has a declining trend. See table below:

**THE SECOND CATEGORY of BIRTH, DEATH and NATURAL INCREASE RATES**

Country	Year	Birth Rate Per 1,000	Death Rate Per 1,000	Natural Increase Per 1,000
England	1913	21.7	14.2	7.5
	1955	15.4	11.7	3.7
France	1913	18.8	17.7	1.1
	1955	18.6	12.2	6.4
West Germany	1913	27.0	14.8	12.2
	1955	15.7	10.8	4.9
America	1913	25.0	13.2	11.8
	1955	24.6	9.3	15.3
Australia	1903-1912	27.2	10.7	16.5
	1929-1932	18.2	8.7	9.5
New Zealand	1903-1912	26.7	9.4	17.3
	1929-1932	18.4	8.3	10.1

Of the conditions shown in this table, only for America does the trend of the natural rate of increase remain on a higher level because of the greater decline in death rate over birth rate in this period. The natural rate of increase of France also came up to 6.4 per thousand from her position as the world's lowest level of 1.1 because the death rate fell in this period while the birth rate basically maintained its original level. The other nations all show a greater decline in the birth rate over the death rate. The natural rate of increase of their populations has generally fallen to within 10 per thousand and some to about 5 per thousand.

The third category consists of socialist nations. Aside from the Soviet Union, the histories of socialist nations are all quite short, and it is not easy to deduce a universal trend to their population changes. But, we can make a tentative analysis of population trends in socialist nations based on the operation of the basic economic law of socialism on the material and cultural life of the people as well as its gradual influence on population change considered in conjunction with the concrete conditions of Russia over 40 years.

The Textbook of Political Economy says, when expressing the change in size of population under the socialist system, "Population grows continuously and rapidly." We consider that this statement only explains the conditions of the first period of socialist construction and cannot be applied to the entire socialist stage. We amend this statement to "the size of the population from rapid growth gradually reaches stable growth."

First we survey the operation and influence of the basic economic law of socialism. Under the socialist system, no matter whether in Russia, in this country or in the other People's Republics, production develops continuously and rapidly, the material and cultural life of the people continuously and rapidly rises, which exactly explains the beginning and daily enlarging operation of basic economic law under socialism. As has been stated previously, the rapid rise in the standard of living is shown in many aspects. The rapid decline of the death rate because of improvement in nutrition and in medical care is one of its major aspects. Moreover, the improvement in the standard of living means that those who formerly could not marry in Old China being prevented by economic poverty can now

marry. Moreover, virility is strengthened because of the strengthening of people's physique. These things cause a rising trend in the birth rate. A rapidly falling death rate, combined with a rising birth rate, or a stable birth rate or a gradually falling birth rate must always lead to an increase in the rate of natural increase.

But the causes of the rising trend in the birth rate which we have analysed above are only one aspect of the effects produced on changes in population size by the basic economic law of socialism through raising the standard of living. This aspect is naturally important and shows quite clearly in the first period of socialist construction. If only observed in this aspect, it would naturally result in the continuous rapid growth of population over the whole socialist period. But we must still examine on the other hand the effects produced on changes in size of the population by the basic economic law of socialism through improvement in the standard of living as well as by social changes which arise from the establishment and enlargement of socialist production relationships, from technological revolution, the organization of production and from changes such as redeployment of productive power, lessening of urban-rural differences and change in the white collar and industrial composition of the population.

We now examine the birth rate of the population. After the establishment of socialist production relationships, and as the basic economic law of socialism begins and enlarges its operation, unquestionably there is first a rapid growth of population stimulated by improvement in the standard of living. But in company with it there is also produced a movement pressing for late marriage and birth control for the benefit of

study and work, for the health of parents and children of the second generation, and for more rapid improvement and increase in the standard of living. At the same time, as socialist industrialization and farm collectivization develop and as communication and transportation extend, as new industrial sites are constructed and new mines built, production is organized and new cities established. These things just all inevitably influence, and moreover, are influencing the way of life of the people. The mode of work and life which was formerly individually managed and scattered, is now gradually becoming more concentrated and collectively managed. In this process of movement of rural population to cities, change of farm population into industrial population and the gradual change from scattered, individual modes of life to concentrated, collectivized modes of life, the changes in modes of life and in working conditions would give rise to delayed marriages and lessened birth densities. In nations which formerly were economically and culturally backward, or nations whose capitalist development is not complete and have crossed to socialism, in addition to the past feudal marriage system which has given way to the present free marriage system, such old customs and points of view as, "when a man is grown he should marry, when a woman is grown she should marry," "there are three things which are unfilial and to have no posterity is the worst," and "raise sons to provide for one's old age" also gradually change, which aids the elimination of early marriage and multiple births. Social change and technological revolution, like a cool, fresh wind driving out the mists from a sweltering valley, make the days seem new and the months feel different so that a demand has arisen among the broad laboring masses for a higher level of culture and scientific skill on a higher foundation of economic life. To know culture and scientific

skills, working people will be willing to delay their marriages and practice birth control. The above trends would retard the rise in the birth rate of the population and even hasten its decline. The more this trend continues, the more pronounced it will be as the level of material and cultural life rises in conjunction with the daily development of socialist construction.

Now we re-examine the death rate. As previously stated, in the incipient period of socialist construction, the death rate rapidly declines, but when the decline approaches the lower limit determined by the physiological conditions of a certain society, the rate of fall slows.

As a result, on the other hand, the death rate with its rate of decline retarded in conjunction with a birth rate whose rate of increase has also been slowed, or an unchanged birth rate or a lowered birth rate must always retard the rise in the rate of natural increase or lead to a decline in the rate of natural increase.

It can be seen from this that under the socialist system, the basic economic law of socialism changes ways of life and ideological attitudes through raising the standard of living. With regard to the size of the population, practically speaking, it promotes and increases the birth rate on one hand and depresses and retards it on the other. Some writers consider this a dialectical relationship between the basic economic law of socialism and the reproductive process of the population, and our point of view is similar. <sup>22/</sup> When these retarding and promoting operations begin, no matter which is the important one, they change with the different developmental stages of socialist construction. Generally speaking, in the first period



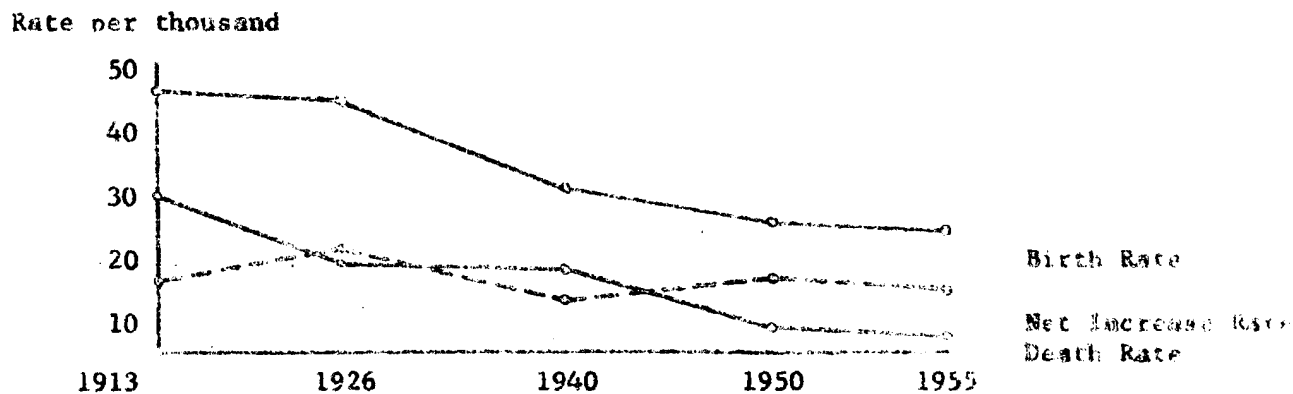
of socialist construction the death rate quickly declines because of improvement in the standard of living, the birth rate changes less and the natural rate of increase goes up. As socialist construction gradually develops, the standard of living gradually gets higher, late marriage and birth control correspondingly appear, the birth rate gradually declines and the rate of fall of the death rate slows because it approaches its lower limit, and the natural rate of increase declines in turn. In simple terms, in the socialist construction process, the size of the population gradually reaches a stable rate of growth from the rapid growth of the first period.

Secondly, we further analyze changes in population size based on the actual conditions prevailing in Russia during the last 40 years, and moreover, using Russia as a concrete example, attempt to explain the trend and possible lawfulness of changes in population size in socialist nations. For the benefit of analysis and explanation we show the changes over the last 40 years in the Russian birth rate, death rate, and net increase rate (natural rate of increase) in the following table and figures: <sup>23/</sup>

**RUSSIAN BIRTH RATE, DEATH RATE AND NET RATE OF INCREASE**  
(per thousand)

Year	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Net Increase
1913	47.0	30.2	16.8
1926	44.0	20.3	23.7
1940	31.7	18.3	13.4
1950	26.5	9.6	16.9
1951	26.8	9.6	17.2
1952	26.4	9.3	17.1
1953	24.9	9.0	15.9
1954	26.5	8.9	17.6
1955	25.6	8.4	17.2

**CHART OF RUSSIAN BIRTH RATE, DEATH RATE AND NET RATE OF INCREASE**



From the above table and figure it can be seen that since the establishment of the Soviet Government, the birth rate of the Russian population has gradually fallen until by 1950 it had basically reached a stable condition, changing very little. The death rate of the Russian population rapidly fell during the first period of socialist construction

until after 1950 the speed of its fall slackened because it approached its lower limit. It is necessary to explain at this point that because we lack yearly figures for the period between 1940 and 1950 it is not certain in either the case of the birth rate or of the death rate whether they first stabilized after 1950 or whether the speed of their fall had only begun to slacken at that time. In fact, it is possible that for several years prior to 1950 they had already begun to stabilize. The net increase rate of the Russian population in the first period of socialist construction -- which was in fact the recovery period of their national economy, that is to say, the period before the start of the First Five Year Plan -- comparing the pre-revolutionary year 1913 with 1926, increased from 16.3 to 23.7, rising roughly one third. If we examine the cause, we find it in the fact that after the establishment of socialist production relationships, the standard of living of the people continuously rose in the face of internal warfare and external armed intervention. Thus the death rate fell quickly; in this first period it fell by one third and the birth rate changed little, not falling more than 7%. Because we lack figures from 1926 to 1940 we have no basis for knowing in what year after 1926 the net increase rate of the Russian population first began to fall. Up to 1940, because the speed of the fall of the birth rate exceeded that of the death rate, the net rate of increase was very low being only 13.4 per thousand. After 1950, due to the stabilization of the birth rate, there was a comparatively slight fall of the death rate and the net growth rate changed very little, remaining roughly around 17. It can even more clearly be seen from the above figure that when the birth

and death rates are both falling, if the rate of fall of the death rate exceeds that of the birth rate the net rate of increase rises. On the other hand, if the rate of fall of the birth rate exceeds that of the death rate then the rate of increase falls.

To summarize the trend of change in the population of Russia over the past forty years, it can be said that in the first period of socialist construction, because of improvement in the standard of living, the death rate speedily fell and the birth rate changed little, and the net rate of increase trend was upward. In the period of the Third Five Year Plan, because the standard of living rose higher, the phenomena of late marriage and birth control were produced and the rate of fall of the birth rate exceeded that of the death rate, and the net rate of increase in turn tended downward. After termination of the Second World War, in the period of the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans, the trend of the birth rate had fairly well stabilized and the speed of fall of the death rate was slight and the net rate of increase of the population stabilized. These actual Russian conditions explain the gradual trend to stable growth from an early rapid rate of growth of the population in the socialist construction process.<sup>a/</sup>

Stable growth refers to the natural rate of increase of a population being basically stable, changing little or gradually falling. But the natural rate of increase can stabilize at a comparatively high level or

<sup>a/</sup> For a comment on this claim see F. Lorimer, "Population Policy and Politics in the Communist World" in P. Hauser ed. Population and World Politics, The Free Press, 1958.

at a relatively low one. The natural rate of increase is a product of the interaction of the birth rate and the death rate. When the death rate falls close to the lowest limit of physiological conditions, the most important factor influencing the natural rate of increase is the birth rate. For this reason, in the last period of socialist construction, whether the natural rate of increase stabilizes after all at a relatively high or low level is decided by the fluctuations in the birth rate and the level at which it stabilizes. According to Russian conditions, the birth rate stabilized after 1950 at a comparatively high level, namely about 26.<sup>24/</sup> Here, aside from the important function of the law of population under socialism or the basic economic law of socialism, the population policy of the party and the nation has also a certain assisting function. On June 27, 1936, the Central Standing Committee of Russia and the Committee of the Russian People proclaimed "Resolutions concerning the stopping of abortion, increase in material aid after birth, and resolved on State aid to families with many sons and daughters and to enlarge maternity hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens, etc.", on July 7, 1944, the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium also issued a proclamation "concerning the increase of aid to pregnant women, mothers with many children and unmarried mothers, as well as strengthening the security of mothers and children" and issued another "concerning the award of the honorific title 'hero mother' and founding the highest medal of motherhood and the second highest medal of motherhood."<sup>25/</sup> These regulations and laws encouraging population had no doubt a certain function in slackening the fall of the birth rate. It can be understood from this that if the Party and the Government do not adopt policies encouraging population, the birth rate will necessarily fall and stabilize at a lower level; if the Party and Government adopt policies to inhibit population, the birth rate would stabilize at an even lower level.

In traditional China, the birth rate was high, the death rate was also high, and the natural rate of increase was for this reason comparatively low. According to previously quoted 1930 estimates, the birth rate in traditional China was 38, the death rate was 33 and the natural rate of increase was 5. Some writers estimate that in the 37 year period from 1912 to 1949, according to the surveys of each region, the death rate in traditional China was generally from 27 to 34, the birth rate was between 25 and 45 (averaging 36 for <sup>the</sup> whole country), and the natural rate of increase averaged 8 each year. 26/

After liberation, due to the raising of the standard of living, the death rate in this country speedily fell but the birth rate changed little. Thus the natural rate of increase was clearly increasing. According to the 1953 census of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the birth rate was 37, death rate 17 and the natural rate of increase was 20. Also, according to the 1954 statistics from 25 provinces and 1 autonomous region, the birth rate was between 30 and 48, the average was 38; the death rate was between 8 and 19, averaging 15; the natural rate of increase was between 13 and 38 averaging 23.

Several points can be clarified here. First, after liberation, the natural rate of increase of the population was clearly higher than it was in traditional China. No matter whether one takes the 1953 natural increase rate census figure of 20 or takes the 1954 figure of 23 to compare with the 8 per thousand natural increase rate of traditional China, the increase in the rate of increase is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or slightly more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . For the time being, it does not matter whether the figures of the census or the statistics have a high degree

of accuracy and particularly whether the degree of accuracy or the representative nature of the estimates from traditional China are very good, but it is rather clear that after liberation the natural rate of increase of the population of this country increased in trend as well as in degree and this can therefore be wholly acknowledged. Secondly, of the reasons for this clear increase in the natural rate of increase, the most important is the functioning of the basic economic law of socialism after the establishment of New China. It made possible the marked heightening of the standard of living and the rapid fall of the death rate at a time when the birth rate changed little or perhaps did not change at all. Thirdly, it can be seen from the previous analysis of the law of population under socialism as expressed in absolute population changes that the present rapid growth of population is but the necessary trend in the first period of socialist construction, is but a special characteristic of the period of transition in this country and is but a condition similar to that first period in Russia from the Great Revolution to 1926 or to the implementation of the First Five Year Plan. It is necessary to understand, however, that these conditions cannot be typical of the entire socialist period because in a later stage of socialist construction population movements would shift to stable growth at a lower level.

5) Lastly, the law of population under socialism shows that, assuming the elimination of rural-urban contradictions and of manual-non-manual labor contradictions, as production develops, the proportion of urban population relative to rural population and of industrial population relative to rural population gradually increases while the great urban-rural gap and that between

manual and non-manual labor will gradually shrink.

In a society with an exploitative system, there are long existing urban-rural contradictions, agricultural-industrial contradictions and contradictions between manual and non-manual labor. Under the capitalist system, the economic basis of the rural-urban contradiction is that the whole developmental process of capitalist industry and the commercial loan system causes villages to suffer exploitation by towns, and causes the exploitation of manual workers by non-manual workers while in capitalist enterprises a dichotomy exists between manual workers and leaders.<sup>21/</sup>

Under the socialist system, due to having eliminated the capitalist exploitative system and having constructed and secured socialist production relations, and because of having eliminated urban-rural exploitation as well as the oppression of farmers by capitalists and following the elimination of urban-rural contradictions there appears in their place the mutual aid relationship between city and country. Under the capitalist system the city is the center of rural exploitation while under the socialist system it becomes the center of economic, political and cultural aid to rural areas. This aid increasingly secures the alliance between the working class and the farmers. Following the victory of the socialist revolution, long existing brain labor and body labor contradictions have disappeared. Under the socialist system, workers and business leaders combine into a unified body of labor concerned with increase of production. After the elimination of the educational monopoly of the propertied class under the previous exploitative system, scientists are used for the welfare of the whole people and education



becomes the property of the workers and farmers.

Under the premise of eliminating rural-urban contradictions, accompanying the increasing development and security of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and accompanying the increasing development and growth of production, the proportion of the national economic sector will change and the urban-rural composition and industrial-agricultural composition of the population must also change.

In socialist nations, in accordance with the basic economic law of socialism and the law of planned proportional development of the national economy, the Party and the Government have determined and moreover have carried out planned policies with first preference to the development of heavy industry and the appropriate development of light industry, communications and transportation. In the socialist construction process, because of the implementation of this predetermined planned policy, although every sector of the national economy develops, especially the most important industrial and agricultural sectors, yet the speed of industrial development greatly exceeds that of agriculture and in industry, the speed of development of the production of means of production greatly exceeds that of the production of materials for consumption. Taking Russia as an example, heavy industry's proportional weight in the total value of industry and agriculture was 42.1% in 1913, and in 1937 had increased to 77.4%; the proportional weight of raw materials in the total value of industry was 33% in 1913, and increased to 60% by 1940. Conditions are similar in this country. Comparing 1952 with 1949, the total value of industry and agriculture in this country (holding 1952 constant and calculating) grew 77.5%. In this figure, modern industry

increased 178.6%, agriculture 48.5%. An important indication of the level of development of the national economy is the relative weight of modern industry in the total value of industry and agriculture. From 17% in 1949 it has risen to 26.7% in 1952. The relative weight of raw materials in the total value of industry has risen from 29% in 1949 to 39.7% in 1952. Estimating the total value of industry and agriculture up to 1957 (including modern industry, hand industry and agriculture), it will increase 60% and more over 1952. In the total value of industry and agriculture, the total value of industry (including hand industry) will exceed 50% and in the total value of industry the value of raw materials will exceed 40%.<sup>28/</sup>

In response to this developmental trend and corresponding to it, the appearance of the society and economy will be greatly changed. New plants, mines, electric stations and points will be constructed, new industrial bases will be produced, a new communication nerve system and transportation network will be constructed, new cities formed and the original cities enlarged. The control of productive force will be changed and the scale of productive organization will be renewed and enlarged.

All these developments and changes discussed above will cause the city population relative to the rural population and the industrial population relative to the farm population to gradually increase.

In the experience of Russian socialist construction, it is clear that this sort of change took place. For details see the table below.<sup>29/</sup>

## RURAL-URBAN COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION

Year	Tot. Pop. (100,000's)	Urban % of Total	Rural % of Total
1913	139.3	17.7	82.3
1926	147.0	17.9	82.1
1939	170.6	32.9	67.1
1956	200.2	43.4	56.6

The above figures show that in Russia during the first period of socialist construction the urban-rural composition basically did not change. In 1913, the year prior to the Great Revolution, the urban population was 17.7% of the total, and in 1926 after the Great Revolution, the urban population was still only 17.9%. But by 1939, because of the implementation of three Five Year Plans, the appearance of the economy and the society had greatly changed, and the proportion of the urban population relative to the rural population had also greatly changed, it is estimated, by 32.9%. By 1956, because production gradually increased and the society and economy had increasingly developed, the urban population proportion was more than 43.4% of the total.

The Russian experience in socialist construction also clearly shows similar changes in the agricultural-industrial composition of the population. Because we lack figures for technicians in this area, we will attempt to examine these figures according to the class composition of the Russian population.<sup>30/</sup>

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**CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION (%)**


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	1913	1923	1937	1955
Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Industrial & White Collar workers	17.0	17.6	36.2	58.3
Collectivized farmers and Coopera- tive handcraft workers	-----	2.9	57.9	41.2
Individual farmers and non-coopera- tized handcraft workers	66.7	74.9	5.9	5.0
Landlords, large and small bourgeois merchants and rich farmers	16.3	4.6	-----	-----

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The important thing about the above table is that it shows the change in class composition of the Russian population, the gradual elimination of the exploitative classes and the gradual cooperativization of individual farmers and handcraft workers. But it can also be seen from the above table that accompanying the socialist industrialization of the nation, accompanying the growth of production, accompanying the gradual increase in the proportion of industry, communications and transportation relative to agriculture in the national economy, the proportion of working personnel in industry, communication and transportation relative to working personnel in agriculture gradually increased. The proportion of the total population made up by workers and white collar workers (including their households) in Russia according to the above table was 17% in 1913, the year prior to the Great Revolution, and to 1928, the years after the Great Revolution, the proportion basically had not changed: it was still 17.6%; but from 1928 on through the completion of two Five Year Plans to 1937, the worker-white collar worker proportion of the total had clearly increased, it was 36.2%, and by 1955, it was even higher, estimated at 58.3%. After 1928, the proportion of agricultural and handcraft workers gradually declined.

Here we must clear up several questions. First, the above workers and white collar workers not only refers to those <sup>in</sup> cities but also includes those in villages. While among rural workers and white collar workers there is possibly a portion who perform agricultural duties who should be counted as agricultural personnel, there are also in cities some who perform services outside of the industrial, communication and transportation sectors. In this respect we cannot look at the above worker and white collar worker proportions as only workers in industry, communication and transportation. At the same time, no matter whether in the items "collective" or in "individual farmers," all include cooperativized or uncooperativized handcraft workers although the proportion of handcraft workers is not great (according to the 1939 Russian population census, cooperativized handcraft workers were 2.29% of the total population, uncooperativized handcraft workers were 0.82%, both groups totaling 3.11% of the total), but they should also be deducted from the agricultural sector and put into the industrial sector. But, in what we have analysed above, we have only explained the trend of gradual increase in the proportion of the industrial population relative to the agricultural population. On this point, the small difference in these concrete figures with respect to our argument would not produce a very great effect. Secondly, from 1928 to 1937 and on to 1955, workers and white collar workers not only increased absolutely, their proportion of the total population also increased. On the other hand, the agricultural population (including individual farmers) not only proportionately declined, its absolute numbers also lessened. This is explained by the fact that in the Russian socialist industrialization process, a proportion of the

agricultural population migrates to the cities or to the industrial base and turns into industrial population or the population of other sectors of the national economy. Thirdly, it is noted that the proportion of the value of industry relative to agriculture as well as its rate of growth, generally speaking, has exceeded the proportion of industrial population relative to agricultural population as well as its rate of growth. As previously shown, from 1913 to 1937, the relative weight of Russian heavy industry in the total value of industry and agriculture had risen from 42.1% to 77.4% and thus exaggerates the proportion of industrial population in the total population which only rose from 17% to 36.2%. This is because the productivity of the industrial sector as well as its rate of growth was greater than that of the agricultural sector. In Russia between 1928 and 1953, industrial productivity rose roughly about 5 times while agriculture as compared with the pre-revolutionary period rose roughly about twice. At the same time, in the growth of Russian industrial production, 70% was due to an increase in productivity and only 30% was due to an increase in number of workers.

In traditional China, according to 1930 estimates, urban population was roughly 15% of the total. After liberation, according to the census of 1953, urban population was 13.26% and rural population was 86.74% of the total. It can be said that both urban and rural population increased absolutely while in the present stage the relative change of urban population to rural population is slight. In respect to the agricultural-industrial population, after liberation, the industrial population rapidly increased. It is noted that

industry, construction, transportation, post and telegraph industries were estimated in 1952 to have 4,610,000 workers and white collar workers. It is estimated that by 1957 they will have increased to 7,990,000 persons, more than 70% increase in 5 years. The total number of workers and white collar workers in this country was in 1952, 21,020,000 persons. It is estimated that by 1957 it will increase to 25,240,000 persons, a 5 year increase of roughly 20%. It can be seen that the growth rate of workers and white collar workers in industry exceeds that of all workers and white collar workers. If the household population is added, then the number of workers in the industrial sector when compared to the above figures for workers in each sector must be large. Because traditional China was an economically backward agricultural nation, although the industrial population grew rapidly after liberation, yet in the total population the proportion is still not large. In sum, the change in the urban-rural proportions of the population in this country at present and the change in the industrial-agricultural proportions are both very slight. This is a phenomenon necessarily produced by a nation which was originally comparatively backward economically now in the first stage of socialist construction. This condition had also appeared in Russia. But we can predict that accompanying the increasing development of our socialist industrialization, after the completion of two or three Five Year Plans the proportion of urban population relative to rural population and industrial population relative to agricultural population will certainly gradually increase.

In the industrialization process of capitalist nations, there has also been a gradual increase in the urban over the rural population, of the industrial over the agricultural population. But it is necessary to point out that this changed situation produced by the industrialization process in capitalist nations is by nature entirely different from the changed situation produced by the industrialization process in socialist nations. First, these conditions are produced in socialist nations under the premise of having eliminated urban-rural opposition, while in capitalist nations they are produced under the premise of urban-rural opposition and moreover, these conditions intensified the exploitation of rural areas by cities, so it follows that rural-urban opposition must be intensified. Next, when capitalism develops to the imperialist stage, the proportion of the agricultural population in capitalist nations declines further. For example, in England it was 7.1% in 1920, in America in 1930 it was 22.5%, in France in 1930 it was 24.5%, in Germany in 1930 it was 22.2%; this is because in the imperialist period, these countries with overseas colonies use export capital and market monopoly and like methods to exploit and enslave the people of colonial and semi-colonial nations and cause colonial and semi-colonial nations to become the agricultural and raw-material producing dependent satellites of the colonizing countries. Japanese imperialists whose intention for China was in the past "Industrial Japan, Agricultural China" were like this. Today, the real purpose of what American, English and French imperialists give to all colonial and economically backward nations under the label of "economic aid" is the same.



The gradually increasing development of the proportion of industrial population relative to agricultural population which has been discussed above is applicable to all socialist nations. But under individual circumstances, namely in nations in which capitalist development is high and the proportion of agricultural population is extremely low, in the socialist construction process of such nations, the proportion of industrial workers relative to agricultural workers will not definitely continuously increase.

Under the socialist system, even though the contradictions between the city (industry) and the country (agriculture), between manual and non-manual labor are eliminated, there yet remain great differences between city (industry) and country (agriculture), manual and non-manual labor. Concerning the reason why such great differences still exist, Stalin has pointed out that: "If we discuss differences between industry and agriculture, then in this country these differences are not only ascribed to the different conditions of agricultural labor and industrial labor, but first and foremost it is ascribed to the fact that in industry we have the state ownership system of production materials and products while in agriculture what we have is not state, but is the group, collectively owned system....Concerning the question of the elimination of the basic gap between manual and non manual manual labor, it must also be understood in these terms...The important thing is that the level of culture and skills of workers is at present very low, far, far below the level of skill of managers."<sup>31/</sup>

The great differences between urban and rural areas, industry and agriculture, workers and collectivized farmers, is due to the fact that the

existence of both systems of ownership under the socialist system is not compatible with the level of development of agricultural and industrial productive power. In industry there is the state ownership system while in agriculture there is only the group, collectivized farm ownership system. Industry to a very great extent has realized the electrification, mechanization, automatization and chemicalization of production, while the level of productive skill in agriculture is comparatively backward. Although such large differences can only be entirely eliminated in the communist construction process, yet in the socialist construction process they will gradually shrink. On the one hand, accompanying the development of socialist industrialization, heavy industry further enlarges, which realizes for agriculture the premise of mechanization, electrification and chemically made materials. At the same time socialist industry, through the leading role of machine tractor stations in the development of collective farm production would realize its reformed role in agriculture, would enlarge the state owned system and moreover stimulate a revolution in agricultural skills. On the other hand, accompanying the development of collectivized agriculture, particularly in the transitional stage between social reform and technological reform, with the stimulation and the aid of socialist industry, the level of productive skills in agriculture will gradually increase, and moreover after agriculture has been mechanized, electrified and chemicalized, even though productive conditions are affected by natural limitations, and production itself is not similar to that of industry, yet its great difference must gradually shrink. On this basis, on the one hand due to the continuous

construction of the industrial base, the original cities enlarge, and the number of new cities increases; on the other hand, due to the mechanization and electrification of agriculture itself, plus the growth of the communication and transport net, and with the development of the post and telegraph industry, villages will gradually have the appearance of towns; this would cause the gradual abridgement of differences between town and country.

The large differences between manual and non-manual labor lie in the fact that the level of culture and skill of most workers is still lower than that of engineering and technical workers, and the level of culture and skill of most farm members is still beneath that of the agricultural expert. Although such great differences can only be completely eliminated in the communist construction process, they are already gradually shrinking in the socialist construction process. In Russia, with the development of culture, education and the national economy, the level of culture and skill of workers and farmers is already gradually increasing, and the distinction between workers, farmers and intelligentsia is already shrinking. According to statistics, the Russian grammar and high school students increased from 78,960,000 in 1914 to 115,890,000 in 1927, and further increased to 347,520,000 in 1950. Technical school students grew from 54,000 persons in 1914 to 189,000 in 1927 and further increased to 975,000 in 1940 and by 1950 was 1,961,000. College students grew from 127,000 in 1914 to 169,000 in 1927 and further increased to 812,000 by 1940 and in 1955 they were 1,867,000 persons.<sup>32/</sup> We are also realizing a similar development in this country. From 1949 to 1956, the number of grammar school students increased from 24,390,000 persons to 57,700,000 persons; high school students

increased from 1,268,000 to 5,860,000 persons. College students increased from 116,000 persons to 380,000 persons.

We understand from the above analysis that in socialist society, given full employment and rational utilization of those able to work, not only does the increase in the material welfare of the people stimulate a change in population numbers --- from a rapid rate of growth they gradually reach a stable rate of growth, but under the premise of the elimination of urban-rural contradictions(industrial-agricultural contradictions) and contradictions between manual and non-manual labor, with the development of production, the urban-rural composition of the population and its industrial composition must necessarily change, while the large urban-rural differences and the large differences between manual and non-manual labor must also gradually diminish. When we study population under socialism, not only must we analyze the fact of interaction between population changes and the rise in the standard of living after having eliminated the basic cause of unemployment, poverty and population surpluses, but we must also analyze the changes in social and occupational composition of the population as well as the diminished differences between urban areas and rural areas and between manual and non-manual labor which the socio-economic revolution and the development of production have produced after the establishment of socialist production relations. These changes and these developments are all results necessarily produced both by the enlargement and function of the basic economic law of socialism and by the construction and consolidation of socialist production relations, and for this reason such relations are both the major content of

the population problem under socialism and constitute the major area in which the law of population under socialism must be shown. The Textbook of Political Economy when setting forth the law of population under socialism does not include change in urban-rural composition or in industrial-agricultural composition. We consider this insufficient and incomplete. In view of this, we have written this tentative supplement.

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## III

**Birth Control and Our Present Population Problem**

Today, this country has achieved the victory of socialist revolution, eliminated the basic reason for unemployment and poverty, and is gradually moving to socialism. As fundamental economic law under socialism begins to operate, the law of population under socialism has now begun functioning. This is demonstrated in this country by the gradual decline in numbers unemployed, by the gradual rise in the material and cultural life of the people, the rapid decline of the death rate of the population, the marked growth in size of population and in such changes as those in the urban and occupational composition of the population.

Population problems are not only problems of pure numerical size of population but also arise from the social and occupational composition of the population. This portion of the present article only stresses the present problem of numerical change of our population and the problem of birth control is directly related to this change. Naturally, when studying the problem of population size, one must certainly touch on the change in social and occupational composition of the population, and only in this connection will we give the latter due analysis. In our process of industrialization under socialism, changes in the social and occupational composition of the population as well as the narrowing gap between city and country and between white collar work and physical labor are major components in the population problem of this country. Full study of such problems must, however, be put aside for the present to await analysis at some later time.

The size of our population is now rapidly growing due to the effect of the law of population under socialism. It has been pointed out in the foregoing sections that in traditional China the natural increase rate was roughly eight per thousand. It rose to twenty and even to twenty-three per thousand after liberation according to the census of 1953 and statistics of 1954. The reason for this rapid and marked growth in the population of this country, just as analyzed in the previous section, is that after the establishment of socialist production relations, the standard of living rises continuously as production develops and thereby causes a rapid and marked decline in the morbidity and death rate of the population while the birth rate, on the other hand, substantially maintains its original level or changes only very slightly. The death rate in traditional China was about thirty according to statistics. The national average fell after liberation to seventeen and even to fifteen per thousand according to the census statistics of 1953 and 1954. This fall in the rate was one half. This not only explains the function of the law of population under socialism but also clearly shows the superiority of the socialist system. The birth rate in traditional China, based on estimates, was thirty-six to thirty-eight per thousand. After liberation the national average was thirty-seven to thirty-eight per thousand according to statistics of 1953 and 1954. There was substantially no change as yet. This shows how the effect of basic economic law under socialism and the great revolution of the social economy in the post-liberation period is balanced through the promoting and retarding influence which the factors of the rise in the standard of living and change in the way

of life have produced.

From the present analysis of the law of population under socialism and its function, it can be understood that the present rapid growth of our population is a phenomenon of the first period of socialist construction and possibly the necessary product of the transitional period in this country. It can also be understood that the major reason for the present rapid growth of the population is the fall in the morbidity and death rates of the population after the standard of living rose. Before it reaches the lower limit set by physiological conditions of a particular stage of human society, the death rate would continue to decline as the standard of living rises further. It can also be understood from the law of population under socialism that when the death rate approaches the lower limit set by physiological conditions, the rate of decline would slow and the birth rate would necessarily change from an originally stable or slightly fluctuating state and begin a down trend due to the great revolution in the social economy and the further rise in the standard of living. This would necessarily cause the trend of population size to change from rapid to stable growth.

The correct understanding of the law of population under socialism in this aspect of its operation is extremely important to the correct understanding of the population problem of this country. It must be clearly understood that the rapid growth of population is a necessary phenomenon of the first period of socialist construction, and it must be especially appreciated that it does not represent the trend over the whole period of socialist construction. Analysis must be made of the effect which the revolution in the



social economy and the rise in the standard of living has produced on the birth rate and the death rate, and analysis must especially be made of different effects produced by different stages in the socialist construction process. Even more, the aspects of the promoting and retarding effect produced on the birth rate through rise in the standard of living and change in the way of life by basic economic law under socialism must be analyzed as well as the decreasing or increasing tendency of these two aspects in different stages of the socialist construction process.

Some people at this time have not made an overall analysis of this problem and as a result, consider the present rapid growth of our population as a trend of the entire socialist period. Some even think that what Malthus said about population growing at a geometric rate and doubling in twenty-five years is correct. Some people, it seems, even consider that conditions of population pressure and surplus population already exist in this country. We do not agree with this point of view.

Malthusianists always consider that the rate of growth of the means of subsistence can never catch up with the rate of growth of the population; the means of subsistence increase arithmetically, population increases geometrically. According to this formula, the natural increase of population would become a pressure on the economic life of society. But in the 150 years since Malthus' "Essay on Population" was published, this formula has not only not yet been confirmed, but has long since been refuted by facts. We have already analyzed and criticized this point in the first section of this paper. In China today, however, some people, although correctly criticizing Malthus'

theory that problems of population surpluses are solved by war, plague and sickness as wrong and reactionary, yet consider that "Malthus's observation that population multiplies (if it is not controlled) at a geometric rate of increase is correct," and also consider that "in economically and scientifically backward nations, under certain conditions the rate of increase of industrial and agricultural production is arithmetical and is not as rapid as geometric progression."<sup>33/</sup> We consider that this conclusion is doubtful. To take this conclusion as a basis for advocating the present implementation of birth control in the country is especially worth reconsideration.

The amount of natural increase of a population is the result of interaction between changes in the birth and death rates. Changes in the birth and death rates are intimately related to the economic system of the society. The history of the last hundred years and more clearly shows that in England, France, America and other capitalist nations, population increase is very slow, far from a geometric rate. In 1955, the Russian birth rate was 25.6, death rate was 8.4 and natural increase rate was 12.2 per thousand. When these figures are compared to those of the pre-revolutionary year 1913 when the birth rate was estimated to be 47, the death rate 30.2 and the natural rate of increase was 16.8 per thousand, then the birth rate can be seen to have fallen almost one half, the death rate slightly more than 2/3 and the fall of the death rate is slightly greater than the fall of the birth rate. This shows the superiority of the socialist system. The rate of natural increase, however, shows no conspicuous rise as yet. At this point we must pay attention to the fact that Russia adopted a policy of encouraging population. In this country, although the establishment of the political power of the People's Democracy and the victory of the socialist revolution over the whole country

has only existed for a few years, the death rate has already rapidly fallen while the birth rate has changed very little. As a result, the rate of natural increase has been conspicuously high. But this is only a condition of the first period of socialist construction. Some would say it represents the special characteristic of population change in the present socialist transitional period and cannot be considered a long term trend in the population growth of a socialist nation. We consider that absolute population figures are certainly growing year by year, but it is the long term trend of the growth rate and is not a geometrical progression.

People who support the idea that population increases at a geometric rate of progression see population increase as something "just as startling as the figures of the rate of accumulation of a compound interest loan at high interest" and also think that the proverb "in one generation two, in ten generations one thousand," is well founded. According to this method of estimation, it is just as Malthus himself said in the old edition of his Political Economy: "one couple could, from the birth of Jesus on, produce so many people that each square yard of earth would hold four people. Not only all the planets, but even all the stars which can be seen with the naked eye, granting that they are inhabitable, would similarly be covered." <sup>34/</sup> In fact Engels long ago criticized this point of view and method of estimation. In 1881 he said in his letter to Kautsky: "Euler's (a Swiss mathematician) calculation has exactly the same value as that concerning the kreutzer (term for an old German coin) which is put out at compound interest in the first year of our era, which doubles itself every thirteen years, and which therefore now amounts to about  $\frac{1 \text{ times } 2^{144}}{60}$ "

guilder (terms for a coin of Germany and Holland), a lump of silver bigger than the earth.<sup>35/</sup> If we don't analyze each factor of population change and their interrelations and simply rely on a certain formula to calculate and deduce population development, we would get the same absurd result as the method of calculation which Engels criticized.

The growth of the means of subsistence is not an arithmetic rate. Beginning with Malthus, those who advocated this established their theories on the "law of diminishing returns from the land." But the "law of diminishing returns from the land," as previously pointed out, overlooks scientific, technological advance and the development of productive power, and as a result this theory is without basis. The facts speak clearly. No matter whether in capitalist or in socialist nations, the growth of the means of subsistence has exceeded an arithmetic rate, and the rate of growth in socialist nations is even greater. In capitalist nations, because their society and their economic systems are not similar, even if the growth of the means of subsistence surpasses arithmetic progression, the laboring masses still cannot escape poverty. In socialist nations, the level of the material and cultural life of laboring people must continuously rise as production continuously develops. The rate of growth of agricultural and industrial production in the extremely short period after liberation has never been surpassed in history. The average yearly growth of our industrial production is 10%, of agricultural production is 5% and it is estimated that in 1957 when the first Five Year Plan is completed, the value of total industrial and agricultural production will have increased

more than 50% over 1952, and the rate of increase greatly exceeds the natural rate of increase of the population. Even if we simply speak in terms of the major item in the means of subsistence: food, total production was estimated to be 220 billion catties. In 1952 it was 335 billion, in 1954 it was 339 billion, in 1955 it was 348 billion and in 1956 it was 368 billion catties. The rate of increase greatly exceeds the natural rate of increase of the population. At present, the average share for each person of our population of 630 million yearly is 580 catties of food. According to the requirements of the "1956-1967 National Outline for Agricultural Development," the total amount of the nation's food will increase to 838 billion catties by 1967. Even if the population increases at a natural increase rate of 20 or 25 per thousand and reaches 770 or 840 million by 1967, the average yearly share of food per person would still be 1000 catties or more, which greatly exceeds past increases. Beside raising per mou production, the additional factors of development of wasteland and appropriate transfer of people to the Northwest and Southwest should make the rate of growth in the means of subsistence still greater. In spite of past economic and scientific backwardness, to continue to say that in China today, the rate of growth of industrial and agricultural production is arithmetic is to ignore facts and is moreover, not in accordance with the economic law of the continuous rise in productivity under the socialist system.

Malthus and his followers used to take population and the means of subsistence (some even used population and land area or population and arable land area) and compare them, using population as a denominator and

and means of subsistence as a numerator. They then used the size of this ratio to calculate the prosperity of society. We consider that the problem does not lie in whether it is permissible to compare these factors, but lies in the way in which they are compared. More important is the fact that this ratio cannot be isolated or superficially examined and analyzed. Malthus and his followers adopted a metaphysical method of analysis, first by not examining the basic determining function of the production relationships of society, and secondly by overlooking the influence of social and economic life on the growth of the means of subsistence. As a result they erroneously concluded that the rate of growth of the means of subsistence can never catch up with the rate of growth of the population, and from ulterior motives they cried "population surplus" and "population pressure." Naturally Malthusianists are taking the position of the capitalist classes and their aim is to defend the capitalist system. Our position and that of Malthusianists are contradictory, for if we also adopted metaphysical methods of analysis it would be hard to avoid falling anew into these erroneous conclusions. It can be clearly seen from the foregoing analysis of conditions in this country that in the few years since liberation the rate of growth in the means of production and the means of subsistence greatly exceeds the rate of population growth, and that the terminology "population pressure" and "population surplus" is without basis. The problem for the entire world does not lie in "population surplus" and "population pressure." Clearly, despite the destruction of the Second World War, in the post-war period this law of the faster growth in production than in population is still applicable. Based on United Nations materials, in the

period 1948-1955, the world population grew 10% and world industrial production on the other hand grew 51% while agricultural production grew 21%.<sup>36/</sup>

Since we have substantially achieved the victory of the socialist revolution, eliminated the exploitative system and eliminated the basic reasons for unemployment and poverty, why should there be a population problem in China today? What is the nature and content of our population problem at present? What sort of solution should we adopt?

We agree with one writer's statement: "the elimination of the private property system only eliminates population problems arising from the private property system (although this is the most essential and most conspicuous problem of private property society) and is not the elimination of the whole population problem."<sup>37/</sup> It has been understood from the foregoing analysis that population problems are produced in socio-economic systems and are produced by the contradictions between production power and production relationships in specific societies. It is also understood that as long as society exists for even one day, contradictions between productive power and production relationships cannot be avoided for an instant. What is different is that in socialist societies which have eliminated private monopoly systems and exploitative systems, contradictions between productive power and production relationships are non-conflicting contradictions. As a result, population problems expressed in these contradictions are not problems and contradictions of opposing classes but are problems and contradictions among the people.

On September 27, 1956 it had been pointed out in the Resolution of the Report on Government of the Eighth Session of the National Representative Assembly of the Chinese Communist Party that "Our major internal contradiction is by now the contradiction between the demands of the people to establish an advanced industrial state and the reality of a backward agricultural country. The substance of this contradiction, under the condition that the socialist system has already been established in this country, is also the contradiction between an advanced socialist system and the productive power of backward society." In its general aspect, this contradiction determines the nature and substance of all major social and economic problems in this country at present and similarly also determines the nature and substance of the present population problem of this country.

In order to solve our major internal contradictions, and transform this country as soon as possible from a backward agricultural nation into an advanced industrial nation, we should fully utilize the advantage of an advanced socialist system, and under the condition of production relationship basically suiting the nature of productive power, concentrate and mobilize all energy to develop and raise the level of productive power in the society in the shortest possible time, and then to further perfect and solidify socialist production relationships and also promote the development of social productive power on a still higher level. After removing the exploitative system and eliminating the basic reasons for unemployment and poverty, the basic path to a solution of the population problem of this country is as follows, namely, to develop and raise the level of productive power of the society as soon as



possible. At the same time, the party and the government must determine a suitable population policy based on socialist economic law and population law in combination with the differing conditions under different stages of the socialist construction process in this country.

The size of our population has grown rapidly in the few years since liberation. In the foregoing passages we have analyzed this rapid rate of growth as due in the main to the rapid decline in the death rate. It reflects the rise in the standard of living and the superiority of the socialist system. We should rejoice in this and not be pessimistic. But since the level of productive power of our society is not high in the transitional period, contradictions still exist among the people between the need for the rapid development of the economy and culture and the condition that the economy and culture cannot suffice people at present. As a result, if the birth rate of the population continues to maintain its original comparatively high level at the same time that the death rate rapidly declines, it will cause a continuous and rapid growth in the population size which would create a certain obstacle to raising the standard of living rapidly. As the result of previous analysis of the law of population under socialism, however, it is understood that the present rapid growth of population is only characteristic of the incipient stage of socialist construction, and that by the last period of socialist construction it must turn into a stable rate of growth. It is entirely necessary and correct, however, that the Party and the Government determine suitable population policy in our transitional period according to the inevitable developmental trend expressed in the law of population under socialism and the demands of the people in order to aid the decline of the birth rate and soften the trend of rapid growth of the population in the first period of socialist construction. They must also limit and prevent the detrimental effect on the rapid raising of our standard of

living caused by the rapid growth of population indicated by this first period. Thereby they will lessen the specific difficulties which population growth in the transitional period in this country creates for rapidly raising the standard of living. This is the basis for the adoption of suitable birth control policy under present historical conditions.

To push the analysis further, we consider that there are the following reasons why births must be appropriately controlled in this country today. First, in order to meet the needs of the people, and to improve their health in the interest of the nation, individual families and the new generation, suitable birth control measures must be adopted. As has been said previously, the rise in the standard of living has been universal and conspicuous in the few years since liberation. But because in the past this country suffered exploitation and slavery under imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, it is very backward economically and culturally. The improvement of this backward condition will require a period of twenty or thirty years. Naturally this backward condition cannot but limit the speedy improvement of the standard of living and naturally cannot but leave to us many difficulties which will not be quickly and easily overcome. These difficulties are often especially conspicuous in the case of parents with many children. Many white collar and industrial workers who are parents are seriously and detrimentally affected in their own work, study and personal health because of heavy burdens in life, and their family life and the education of their children is impaired and made difficult. As a result, all parents urgently need birth control in the pressing interest of themselves and their children. Farmers similarly demand birth control. This demand is entirely rational. <sup>38</sup> Based on the foregoing analysis of the law of population under socialism, we can better understand that this demand is produced to a certain extent by the great socio-economic

revolution in the country and the operation of basic economic law under socialism through changes in the way of life and the rise in the standard of living.

Secondly, based on the program "of giving consideration to every detail and to have a comprehensive general plan in which everything has its proper place;" to improve and perfect arrangements for the material well being of people even more quickly, and under the premise of considering the development of production and the raising of productivity as of primary importance, we should adopt suitable birth control methods to cause the population of families and the population of the nation to grow a little more slowly. As has been analyzed in the foregoing, the agricultural and industrial production of this country is growing much faster than population. This guarantees that the standard of living of this country can still improve yearly. But, if population growth slows a little, then the improvement in the standard of living will be a little faster. This is especially true in view of the unusual past economic and cultural backwardness of this country and the huge population base, although it is clearly recognized that in this there is not the slightest element of so-called "population pressure" or "population surplus." These conditions inevitably bring certain difficulties to the rapid improvement of the standard of living in the transitional and even in longer periods. For some families at previous income levels, too many children inevitably affected family life. For the sake of more rapidly and more perfectly arranging for the material well-being of the people it is completely necessary to actively make propaganda and advocate birth-control on a nationwide scale in order to change birth-control from an instinctive movement of people to a largely self-conscious movement. At the same time, we consider that this policy is based on the objective necessity of the law of population under socialism and therefore will certainly have a successful result.

For just such reasons, the Party and the Government have expressed approval and now support appropriate birth control based on the broad national needs of farmers and industrial and white collar workers and in response to the concrete situation of the country. It has furthermore ordered organizations concerned to take the corresponding necessary measures. In March 1955, the Central Committee of the Party explicitly pointed out: "Birth control is a major policy problem which concerns the livelihood of the masses. Under present historical conditions and in the interest of the nation, the family and the new generation, our Party approves appropriate birth control." In the Eighth National Representative Assembly of the Chinese Communist Party of September 1956, Comrade Chou En-lai said in the report which he made on behalf of the General Committee of the Party called Resolution Concerning the Second Five Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, when he spoke on improving the health of the people, "For the purpose of safeguarding women and children, for a better education for the second generation, and in the interest of the health and prospects of the race, we approve appropriate birth control. The Ministry of Health should assist concerned organizations to implement appropriate publicity about birth control and furthermore, to take effective measures."

While publicizing birth control we must still pay attention to the people of the nation, especially to implementing necessary education for the farming masses in the hope of gradually eliminating thought which is incorrect or reminiscent of feudalism. For example, proverbs such as "when a man has grown he should marry, when a woman has grown she should marry," "there are three things which are unfilial, to lack posterity is the worst," "boys and girls fill the hall, sons and grandsons around the knees" and "sons and

daughters are determined by fate beyond human power to change." Some people certainly understand that "when children are many the mother suffers," but consider that "sons and daughters are determined by fate, how dare we transgress against heaven's intention with birth control?" Therefore, since socialist thought of the masses has risen and superstitious feudal thoughts gradually eliminated, the demand for birth control can naturally and properly be uttered.

Some writers consider that the reason for birth control is to rapidly raise the productivity of the people and to meet the requirements of basic socialist economic law and the law of planned proportional development of the national economy so as to cause us to be able to smoothly fulfill the total mission of the transitional period and to be able in the future to meet basic economic missions without excessive strain.<sup>39/</sup> Their major points can be broadly described as follows:

First, writers who advocate this point of view explain that basic economic law under socialism demands that we should continually increase and perfect production on a high technological level. What is meant by causing production to grow on a high technological level is that it is necessary to raise productivity. The most important factor in raising productivity is to improve the technical equipment of the workers. The law furthermore does not demand that we continuously increase and perfect production on the plane of quantitative increase in labor power. In order to advance the industrialization mission of this country on a high technological level we must have accumulation of capital. The way to increase the accumulation of capital consists in greater effort to increase production, but a present decline in the birth rate of this country would also aid the rate of growth of the accumulation of capital and the enlargement of total accumulation. A higher birth rate only implies greater consumption and smaller accumulation and is incompatible with our raising productivity in a shorter period and fulfilling the mission of socialist industrialization.

Secondly, these writers also explain that from the point of view of the law of planned proportional development, conditions are similar. To advance production, labor power is necessary. But labor power must be matched to the tools of production. Only then can it develop the greatest result. The tools of production are dead labor. As a result, the problem of the proportion between live labor and dead labor develops here. Our present problem is that there are still not enough productive tools to give the most rational, most economic and most effective utilization to labor power. At present, for example, to advance production at a high level of technology each worker must be equipped with about 13,000 yuan worth of productive tools. According to these figures and based on the accumulation of 1954, we can only increase the number of workers 1,300,000 yearly. In the Second Five Year Plan, only 1,400,000 workers can be added on the average each year. If half need employment, there are then 6,000,000 persons who must find a suitable place in the national economy. This is a contradiction stemming from our present national economy. In order to solve the problem of maladjustment in the ratio between live labor and dead labor, these writers suggest three methods and advocate the adoption of the third method. The third method is to consider past methods of this country as a foundation, (namely the first method) but quickly take drastic action to lower the birth rate. This will, on the one hand, accelerate socialist industrialization to cause a continuous rise in the technological level of this country, and on the other, to cause the population needing employment in the future to gradually decline and thus a more appropriate ratio of live labor to dead labor in this country after several five year plans.

We consider that writers who take this point of view are completely correct when they analyze population problems from the point of view of the relationship between basic economic law under socialism and the law of planned proportional development of the national economy, and who furthermore point out that under certain conditions the great size of the population and exceedingly high birth rate would produce a certain influence and limiting effect upon the rapid growth of production and the rapid improvement of the standard

of living. They help us understand that when planning the national economy it is necessary to take into consideration the active effect and influence of such large factors as population size and its rate of growth.

But, we simply do not consider that basic economic law under socialism itself includes the need for birth control and a fall in the birth rate. It is correct to say that to attain continuous growth and continuous perfection of production at a high level of technology it is necessary to increase productivity, and that to increase productivity it is necessary to increase the technological equipment of the workers and increase the proportion of dead labor to live labor; and that to do this it is necessary to increase the rate of accumulation of capital. But, if it is inferred from this that to increase accumulation or to raise the proportion of dead labor to live labor it is necessary to have birth control, a decrease in the birth rate of the population and a decline in the labor force, then this should be re-considered.

First, basic economic law under socialism expresses the aim of socialist production--the maximum (fullest or definite) satisfaction of the daily growing material and cultural demands of the entire society. And the means of attaining this aim is to continuously expand and perfect socialist production on a high technological plane. Under the new socialist system, workers are the masters and real essence of society. They are the consumers and at the same time the producers, and the aim of socialist production is to produce for the workers themselves, and the means to this aim is the achievements of the workers themselves. What we call the "daily growing demand of the whole society" includes both the growing demand stemming from the betterment of the standard of living of each person, and the growing demand of the

entire society which arises from the increase in the number of workers. If it is said that the aim of socialist production is for the benefit of all the laboring masses, and that to attain this aim it is necessary to expel them, that is being inconsistent. If it is even further said that the aim of socialist production is to expel them, that is even more inconsistent. The "optimum" satisfaction and "highest" technological plane must always include certain historical and social conditions and under new socialist productive relationships must include the level of the development of the productive power of society under new socialist conditions. To understand this in any other way would lead to a mechanical and parochial point of view and even distort the basic implications and real effect of basic economic law under socialism. It must still be understood that population is a necessary component in the conditions of social and material life and is a necessary condition to the development of production and society. In certain periods of society, the size and rate of growth of population is one objective reality, and economic law under socialism operates in this objective reality. Of course we cannot agree with theories which disregard historical and social conditions by proposing that "at any time, in any place, the growth of population stimulates the development of production in a society." As a result, we consider that the size and the rate of growth of population is both a motivational condition for the expansion of production while at a certain level of development of the productive power of society it is a condition which influences the standard of living. In any case, it cannot be inferred from basic economic law under socialism that: to increase production and lessen consumption it is



necessary to decrease the birth rate of the population. Such theories are under suspicion of "mixing cause and effect."

Secondly, we similarly consider that the main way to increase production is to increase the size of the labor force and also to increase productivity. We also consider that the primary mission is to construct socialist society and to increase productivity. But, because the continuous growth of productivity is one of the laws of socialist economy and the growth of the size of the labor force is an objective fact of the development of society we cannot therefore emphasize the increase of productivity and ignore or overlook growth in the size of the labor force. In fact, both usually go together without contradiction. Reproduction of the society necessarily includes reproduction of the labor force. As reproduction increases, the size of the labor force also continuously expands. It is only in capitalist society that increase in reproduction is always accompanied by the daily impoverishment of the laboring masses and the unemployed, and the daily enlargement of the reserve army of the unemployed. In socialist society, however, the number of persons employed grows daily as reproduction increases, unemployment gradually disappears and the life of workers gradually improves. Reproduction of the labor force is constantly realized in the socialist reproduction process. A planned, guaranteed supply of labor for industry is one of the basic conditions for greater socialist production. We say that to raise productivity, to cause production to continuously increase and improve on a high technological level, it is necessary that it be advanced on the foundation of these necessary facts about the growth in size of the labor force, and we cannot look on the increase in size of the labor force

as completely contradictory to raising productivity on a high technological level. As a result, we cannot consider that basic economic law under socialism does not require that we cause production to **grow continuously** and continuously improve on the foundation of a larger labor force, nor can we consider that this law even implies the exclusion of an increase in the size of the labor force.

Thirdly, in terms of the relation between population and the accumulation of capital, we cannot only consider the relation between accumulation of capital and a consuming population and overlook the aspect of the relationship between a producing population and the accumulation of capital. If we only consider population as consumers, then increase of population necessarily implies more consumption, less accumulation; this would affect the increase of productivity and influence the share of technological equipment of each worker which is to say that it would affect the proper ratio between live labor and dead labor. But, if at the same time we consider population as producers, then circumstances are somewhat different. There are several conditions here. The first is that the increase in the labor which the population gets done is only enough for their own consumption and there is none left over for production for society. Under this condition there is no increase in accumulation. The second condition is that in the increase in labor done by the population there is still some left for social production over and above what is needed for their own consumption. Under this condition, accumulation would increase a certain amount. Still a third condition is that the increase in labor which the population does is still not enough for its own consumption needs, which would decrease accumulation a certain amount. In fact any of these three conditions might occur but in terms of whole societies, and especially in terms

of socialist nations, the second condition is the important one. We must point out that when we study the share of technical facilities which laborers get in the ratio between live labor and dead labor we take laborers or live labor as the denominator and their share of technical facilities or dead labor as the numerator and it is entirely legitimate to observe the correlation and change between numerator and denominator. But we shouldn't think that to enlarge the quotient of this fraction we must shrink the denominator. Because we understand that what the denominator represents is the objective reality of a certain social period and does not mean that we can at the same time forget that the technical equipment or dead labor which the numerator represents is created by the live labor or workers represented by the denominator. As a result we cannot irresponsibly consider population growth as contradictory to increase in capital accumulation; still less can we infer from basic economic law of socialism that to increase capital accumulation and raise productivity it is necessary to decrease the birth rate and decrease the size of the labor force.

Lastly, writers who put forth this opinion still consider that: "Basic economic law under socialism requires that production continuously increase and improve on a high technological plane and that this requires an appropriate amount of production material for the equipment of each worker. Of course if the production material with which each worker is equipped should be a little less than the ideal level, production still can advance as before. But since such production does not advance on a high technological level and can be advanced on a backward technical basis, it is not in accord with the

requirements of basic economic law under socialism. <sup>411/</sup>

We consider that this understanding should be re-examined. If it is said that only by the utilization of high technology industry can we meet the requirements of basic economic law under socialism, then, not only in this country at present, but even in Russia today, only an extremely few industries meet the requirements of basic economic law under socialism. For example, in the electric industry, what is the very highest technology today? It is generation by atomic energy. By this criteria, then, aside from a rare one or two atomic energy generating stations, there are no industries which meet the requirements of basic economic law under socialism. Of course this is unrealistic. As a result, we can see that this principle will cause the field of operation of basic economic law under socialism to be forever limited to an extremely few industries and denies it universal meaning in its operation in various areas of socialist national economies, hence denies its ability to determine all major processes of basic economic law and all major aspects of its development under socialist systems. We also consider that the high technological level which basic economic law under socialism requires to cause production to increase and improve cannot do without the following factors:

1. the level of productive power attained;
2. present manpower and material power;
3. present internal and international conditions.

These three factors are inseparable. Only by fully utilizing the technology which we already have on the present foundation of manpower and material power and by continuously adopting the latest technology can we cause the continuous growth and improvement of socialist production and fully satisfy the daily increasing needs of the people. Otherwise, if we consider that this country should only use the

most modern technological facilities to equip each worker in the socialist construction process, and that to use outdated technical equipment or to use all the technical equipment of medium and small scale industries seems unnecessary, then we would deny important practical meaning to medium and small scale industries in socialist construction in this country and in meeting the daily growing demands of the people not only in the present but in the future. This way of thinking and point of view is obviously divorced from reality.

In this problem, there are certainly quite a few people who are excessively eager to adopt the "world's most advanced" "first rate" or "automatic equipment." They consider that in the long view these things are necessary and economical, but they overemphasize the future and overlook present reality and overlook the contradictions between future and present needs and between future and present economy.<sup>42/</sup> We consider that within a specific scope and to a specific extent it is necessary to adopt the latest technological equipment in the socialist construction process of this country and that as the national economy develops its scope would enlarge and the amount would increase; but we cannot require nor can we accomplish this in all production units and sectors of the national economy. In accordance with our present concrete conditions, as we construct certain needed large industries which have the very latest technological equipment, it would be of greater advantage to our socialist construction to use a portion of capital to construct more numerous medium and small industries which use the technical facilities which we have on hand. People's Daily has pointed out in an editorial on the initial experience of construction in this country that: "Developmental

progress in this country must be commensurate with the basic characteristics of our economic development." In other words, construction in this country should arise from concrete conditions and should be realistic and practical. We should take a lesson from past construction experience. Our construction experience proves that large scale, modernized and mechanized industries are not always the most economical. The construction of large scale, modernized and mechanized industries, coordinated with small scale industries with lower technical standards developed in large quantities according to plan is not only necessary to our socialist industrialization but is more economical. For example, to construct a coal mine of 150,000 tons yearly capacity would only require an investment of 20.9 Yuan for each ton estimated productive capacity, and moreover, could begin production within a year, and within four years could realize its entire estimated productive capacity. If a coal mine is built of 900,000 tons productive capacity per year, it would then require the investment of 49.1 Yuan per ton estimated productive capacity, and moreover needs  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 years before it can begin production and from seven to eight years before it can realize its entire estimated productive capacity. Building in the steel industry is the same. To build a steel mill of 1,500,000 tons yearly output needs an investment of 12 to 15 billion Yuan, requires roughly nine years from plan to realization, and can only begin producing pig iron in the sixth fiscal year of construction. If the same amount of money is used to construct a steel industry of roughly 160,000 tons yearly production, then 11 to 13 mills can be built and each mill would only need roughly four years from planning to completion and can produce pig iron in the third year of

construction. We ourselves can implement the construction of all the medium and small scale industries enumerated here as well as other branches of medium and small scale industry, and we can at the same time make the equipment they need ourselves. The construction of medium and small scale industry at a lower technological standard can result both in increased production and accelerated construction progress plus greater technical resources, conservation of foreign exchange and so forth. For these reasons we must firmly carry out the spirit of the decisions of the Report on Government of the Eighth National Representative Assembly and when determining construction goals, we should, aside from those large scale, modernized and mechanized industries we must adopt, do our utmost to use medium scale in combination with small scale industries, to use large scale in combination with medium and small scale industries, to use newly constructed industry in combination with the expansion and remodelling of industries we originally had, and to use mechanized industries in combination with handcraft industries.<sup>43/</sup> We can see from this that when we study the technical equipment of each worker, or the amount of dead labor with which each unit of live labor must be equipped we cannot only take the latest technical equipment as a norm, but must plan on current technical equipment and out-dated technical equipment.

In summary, that we do not agree with the point of view which considers that the basic economic law of socialism itself requires that the birth rate fall, is not equal to saying that the maintenance of the present rate of natural increase is necessary and suitable to concrete conditions in this country. We have said previously that to meet the needs of the working

and farming masses, for the health of the people and the benefit of the new generation, for a little improvement in the family arrangements of the people at a certain income level, we approve appropriate birth control in order to depress the birth rate and retard the rapid growth of the population.

We must still point out that the theoretical basis on which we publicize birth control at present is entirely different from the theoretical basis on which Malthusianists propose birth control. We must discriminate this point clearly and cannot tolerate the slightest misidentification.

Malthusianists propose birth control on the basis of their erroneous and even absurd population theory. This "population theory" from Malthus to Vogt can be called a Summa Theologica of vulgar and reactionary sociology, economics and biology. They openly defend the capitalist system and they consider the unemployment, poverty and crime of society as something created by what is called a natural, eternal law of population which seems to be without relation to the social system itself, and say that the poverty of the laboring masses is brought on themselves and should not be alleviated. They even say that the people of colonial backward nations and what they call their "inferior" races "deserve" disaster, and that the best thing for the homelands of these peoples is that their so-called "superior" races migrate and conquer them. Aside from proclaiming that war and natural calamity are necessary methods for eliminating what is called their "surplus population", they declare while pretending false compassion that birth control is the only thing to improve the life of the laboring masses." Their intent is to keep the laboring masses from overthrowing the capitalist system and from struggling with the



capitalist classes. We have previously criticized and analyzed the errors and absurdities of this "theory."

Our present proposal to adopt appropriate birth control is based on Marxist population theory, on the law of population under socialism and is proposed on the basis of concrete conditions in this country at present. Marx and Engels long since pointed out that there is no such eternal, natural law of population applicable to all societies and that the law of population of a society is born from and exists on the basis of the mode of production of that society. In class societies, including capitalist societies, to solve problems of surplus working population it is necessary to solve the basic contradiction between production relationships and productive power. Today, this country has basically won the socialist revolution, terminated the history of the class exploitative system of the past several thousand years, established a socialist system on the foundation of the system of public ownership of the means of production, and eliminated the basic reasons for unemployment, poverty and crime. On this foundation the law of population under socialism began to operate. Since the material and cultural life of working people has been guaranteed and continuously rises as production develops, we approve appropriate birth control in response to the needs of the people. This is entirely different from the proposals of Malthusianists. Engels has pointed out that achieving communism (including the first stage of socialist society) may give rise to the necessity of birth control. He said: "The abstract possibility exists of the sort of growth in size of mankind which would lead, moreover, to the necessity of limiting this growth. But, if

communist society at some time in the future needs to control the births of the population, it would be the same as its previous control of the means of production. Hence only in such societies can this be done without the slightest difficulty. The achievement of this result through planning in such societies is like the achievement of conditions in present day France and southern Austria which have developed spontaneously and without planning. I think this is not a very hard thing. But the people of communist societies would themselves decide whether or not to take measures, and when, how and what measures to take. with/

We quote this passage from Engels quite without intention of explaining that to implement planned birth control in the strict sense in our present stage is to control the production of the population as we do the material of production. We understand this in what Engels said: First; on reaching communism (including the socialist stage) the possibility exists of the necessity of birth control because of the rapid growth of population. Second; then, if necessary it is entirely possible to realize planned birth control to regulate the production of the population. This cannot be done under the anarchistic capitalist social system. Third, whether or not to implement this situation and concretely, how to implement it will be decided by the people of the communist society of that time themselves. In terms of present conditions in this country, people still produce themselves spontaneously in the main, and are not able to implement planned birth control in the strict sense within a short time. But this nation can cause people through policy and educational publicity to gradually change from

such spontaneous acts to acts which, to a certain extent are self-conscious. Therefore, in the present stage, we consider that it is necessary to do and indeed, we can only do the following two things with respect to this country's population policy: First, when planning the national economy, no matter whether for farm and industrial production, or for the employment of working people, or for the level of the material and cultural life of the people, it is always necessary to follow the standard of "giving consideration to every detail and to have a comprehensive general plan in which everything has its proper place" in estimating and considering the absolute size of the population as well as its possible rate of growth. Secondly, to actively implement extensive birth control propaganda across the nation to make birth control gradually become a self-conscious need and action of the masses, and to have the concerned organizations take suitable effective measures to facilitate the development of this work.

END

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